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9 March 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1855



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN-ROMANIAN COOPERATION--A working protocol on cooperation between the Bulgarian radio and the Romanian radio and television was signed in Sofia today. The protocol provides for an exchange of radio programs of all spheres of public, economic and cultural life as well as of information. The protocol was signed by Boyan Traykov, director general of the Bulgarian radio, and Alexandru Ionescu, director general of the Romanian radio and television. A working protocol with the Bulgarian television was also signed by Ivan Slavkov, director general of the Bulgarian television. Petre Duminica, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the signing ceremony. [Text]
[AU141908 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 13 Feb 81 AU]

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

PRESS COMMENTS ON U.S., ADMINISTRATION MOVES

[Editorial Reports]

AU151525 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian carries on 11 February 1981 on page 7 a 900-word article by Khristo Diamandiev, entitled "Smoke Screen Hiding Aggressive Trends," in which the author deals with U.S. Secretary of State Haig's allegations that the Soviet Union is "encouraging terrorism." The author of the article further mentions the participation of the U.S. Government and CIA in numerous assassinations, coups and plots, always directed against "progressive regimes" or heads of state in foreign countries.

ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME on 11 February carries an article on page 4 by Ilia Belokonski, doctor of medicine and winner of the Dimitrov Prize, entitled "Cynicism and Madness," which denounces the U.S. intention to produce neutron bombs, and scientifically explains the harmful effect of this weapon. The same daily on page 3 carries "Materials Based on Foreign Press" under the headline "American Imperialism--A Hotbed of Diversion and Violence" in which schools for "mercenaries and terrorists" are described as being in the United States, one of them reportedly in Powder Springs, Georgia, called "(Cab)rary's) International World School" under the leadership of (Michel Livingstone Werbel), a three-star general. This general is also reported to be an adviser of former Afghan rulers living in exile. The material is reportedly based on the SUNDAY TIMES. This is followed by a brief item from a Stockholm daily on American intervention in Latin America.

The daily NARODNA ARMIYA on 11 February also carries about 2,000 words on page 4, under the headline "Aggression--Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy" in which U.S. "intervention" in several countries since World War II is briefly enumerated. It is followed by a report on CIA involvement in "secret operations" to remove "undesirable" leaders abroad and on the training of mercenaries for Mozambique, Angola and South Africa.

Two articles in the Bulgarian dailies on 11 February are also specifically devoted to U.S. involvement in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 11 February carries on page 6 an article by Beirut correspondent Konstantin Ivanov, entitled "Well-Coordinated Campaign" describing "U.S. plans to establish itself in the Middle East and Persian Gulf, and the position of the conservative Arab regimes on this problem." The author sharply criticizes the pro-American and anti-Soviet attitudes of those regimes in this connection, quoting Saudi Arabia's oil minister Yamani, who urges the United States "to adopt a firmer attitude toward the Soviet Union."

The Sofia daily NARODNA MLADEZH on 11 February carries on page 3 a 200-word commentary by Mikhail Noev devoted to U.S. "attempts to establish a direct military presence" in the Middle East and Persian Gulf area, as well as the Egyptian collaboration in this enterprise, mentioning that as soon as Reagan stepped into power, he was visited by Al-Sadat's emissary. This is considered by Noev as an "Egyptian demonstration of its readiness to collaborate with the United States."

The daily TRUD on 11 February 1981 carries a 1,500-word article on page 3 by Margarita Shapkarova, entitled "The Evil Spirit From the Bottle" dealing with Pentagon plans for the production of chemical weapons. The article is written in connection with the Geneva session on disarmament and on banning such weapons. Author Shapkarova states that large U.S. "poisonous weapons deposits" are stored on FRG territory "near Mannheim and Hanau." Shapkarova points out the struggle of the USSR and socialist countries for banning such weapons, and "indignantly" remarks that "the Western mass media," in numerous slanderous publications, are claiming that the "Soviet Union has allegedly increased its chemical weapons reserves."

AU191045 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 16 February 1981 carries on page 8 approximately 1,000 words of comments and factual reports on the present situation in the United States under the new Ronald Reagan administration. All these reports and comments are introduced by a 600-word article by Mitko Ivanov, entitled "The United States: What an Unpleasant Medal for the President." This article describes the sumptuous ceremonies and festivities on the occasion of Reagan's inauguration, contrasting with his bad reputation among U.S. newsmen, who call him "a disgrace of the nation." The article further dwells on the horrors of American daily life, which recalls a Hitchcock movie and is characterized by numerous assassinations in broad daylight on the streets, such as the recent killing of John Lennon, by mass unemployment and by an extremely high crime rate. In addition, Ivanov mentions the excesses of racism, represented by the Ku Klux Klan, the activities of the Mafia and other negative aspects of American life, stressing that "these are the characteristic features of the so-called 'free world,' where citizens enjoy the 'human right' of being killed, robbed and raped."

This article is followed by a 200-word news item based on foreign sources, such as the London SUNDAY TIMES and West German periodicals, on the recent increase of the crime rate, on the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and on the lack of human rights in West Germany.

AU231712 RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 19 February on page 3 carries a 600-word commentary by Kostadin Filipov entitled "Worthless Means." The commentary deals with President Reagan's decision to continue the embargo on sales of grain to the USSR. Stressing the "discrepancy between the presidential candidates promise the voters before elections and their political initiatives after elections," the author claims that "there is no serious motivation behind Reagan's decision," and that "obviously Washington intends to base its relations with the USSR on two contradictory elements--its strength and other peoples' weakness." His conclusion is that "the means which are being utilized now by the White House team against the USSR, including the grain embargo, are worthless. You do not talk to the USSR from a position of force."

NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 19 February on page 3 carries a 400-word commentary by Yury Zhukov, PRAVDA foreign policy observer, specially written for NARODNA MLADEZH, entitled "Dangerous Ambitions." The commentary deals with recent statements by members of the U.S. administration, such as Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and President Reagan, and concludes that the policy of the new administration aims at "reaching world domination by achieving military superiority over all countries throughout the world." The author stresses "the concern of the U.S. allies" with U.S. policy, and calls upon all peace-loving people throughout the world "to unmask the attempts of the opponents of peace."

NARODNA AMIYA in Bulgarian on 20 February on page 3 carries a 1,600-word commentary by Col Anastas Anastasov entitled "What About the Other 47 Months?" The author quotes and analyzes the statements of President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, General B. Rogers and Gen L. Allen, and reaches the conclusion that "they indicate Washington's intention to intensify the arms race." Maintaining that the first month of the new U.S. administration "has confirmed the expectations about increasing the militaristic atmosphere and intensifying the war psychosis on the part of the new administration," the author stresses that this policy "ignores world realities," and that "this provocation will turn into a deadly boomerang against its patrons."

ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 20 February on page 4 carries an 800-word commentary by Dragomir Draganov entitled "The President's Budget Guillotine." The author comments on the economic policy of the new U.S. administration as presented in President Reagan's recent report on the U.S. economic situation. He concludes that the administration's economic policy "will unite the hands of big business and the monopolies, and will help them generate more profits."

CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

THEORETICAL PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE--An international scientific-practical conference is taking place at the Sofia "Kliment Okhridskiy" University on the subject: "Topical Theoretical and Practical Problems of Rhetoric." The conference is being attended by scholars, propaganda workers and writers from Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, Hungary and the CSSR. An introductory address was delivered by academician Prof Sava Ganovski, director of the Institute of Philosophy at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He pointed out that "propaganda and agitation in socialist countries are based on the strength of communist truth; but in order to reach the hearts and minds of millions of people, propaganda workers must perfectly master the specific art of rhetoric." [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

ZHIVKOVA AT CONFERENCE--A conference of the chairmen of the committees for culture and of the leaders of the creative unions with Tekyustendil Okrug Party Committee Bureau and okrug people's council executive committee, has been held in Kyustendil under the chairmanship of Lyudmila Zhivkova. A program for intensified development of culture in Kyustendil Okrug was discussed. In her closing speech Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova emphasized that the purpose of the program was to enhance the role of culture as an universal and efficient factor for developing the creative capabilities of the okrug people. [AU082025 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 81 AU]

ILIOV IN BURGAS--The accountability election conference of the Burgas municipal party organization has begun its work in Burgas. Comrade Aleksandur Lilov attended the conference which is devoted to fulfilling the okrug 5-year plan. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Feb 81 AU]

LUKANOV IN STARA ZAGORA--The accountability-election conference of the Stara Zagora municipal party organization has begun its work. Andrey Lukanov attended the conference. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Feb 81 AU]

YORDANOV AT EDUCATION CONFERENCE--A national conference on educational matters connected with technical education and vocational orientation has begun in Plovdiv. Georgi Yordanov; Ivan Panev, Prof Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education; and other officials attended the conference. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Feb 81 AU]

DYULGEROV IN LOVECH--A joint plenum of the Lovech Okrug Party Committee and of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BNAU] okrug leadership has begun in Lovech. Issues connected with more fully utilizing the mountainous and the semimountainous regions and with more intensively developing sheepraising were discussed. Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee secretary; Angel Bobokov, chief of the Agricultural Department at the BCP Central Committee; Dimitur Karamukov, secretary of the BNAU permanent board, and others were present. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Feb 81 AU]

IVAN MIKHAYLOV IN SLIVEN--Army Gen Ivan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, is visiting Sliven. He met the Sliven Okrug Party Committee Bureau and later visited some industrial enterprises in the city. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 6 Feb 81 AU]

LILOV IN SLIVEN--A plenum of the BCP okrug organization took place on 5 February in Sliven. Comrade Aleksandur Lilov took part. The participation of Komsomol members in various economic enterprises was discussed. [AU051837 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 5 Feb 81 AU]

MLADENOV IN SILISTRA--On 5 February Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member met with the Silistra Okrug BCP Bureau. Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of BCP Silistra okrug committee briefed Comrade Mladenov on the working successes of Silistra okrug working people. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 81 AU]

DRAZHA VULCHEVA IN RAZGRAD--On 5 February Comrade Drazha Vulcheva took part in the accountability elections conference of Razgrad City BCP Organization. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 81 AU]

ATANASOV IN TURGOVISHTE--On 5 February Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, took part in the accountability-elections conference of Turgovishte City BCP Organization. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 81 AU]

U.S. ON EL SALVADOR--The U.S. State Department has decided to take advantage of the revolutionary atmosphere in El Salvador for antisocialist propaganda. As the U.S. TV company CBS reported, a State Department delegation will leave for Western Europe with the mission of explaining to U.S. allies that the conflict in El Salvador is being exacerbated because of subversive actions by the socialist countries. [Text] [AU131143 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 13 Feb 81]

PDRY PROTESTS U.S. MANEUVERS--The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen's committee on peace and solidarity has sharply condemned the planned U.S.-Oman military maneuvers on the territory of Oman. In a declaration which has been published, it is stressed that these maneuvers are an integral part of the U.S. military preparations in the region, which are being implemented with the cooperation of Arab reaction. The U.S.-Oman maneuvers, the declaration stresses, are taking place when all peace-loving forces throughout the planet are insisting on liquidating the imperialist and military presence in that region and on guaranteeing its security. The declaration voices a high assessment of the peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist community countries, led by the USSR. [Text] [AU151436 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0530 GMT 15 Feb 81]

DYULGEROV IN MIKHAYLOVGRAD--On 9 February Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee secretary, took part in the second accountability-elections meeting of Mikhaylovgrad City Party Organization. [AU141908 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Feb 81 AU]

ATANASOV AT SCIENTIFIC PLENUM--On 10 February in Sofia Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, took part in an expanded plenum of the leadership of the Georgi Kirkov organization on disseminating scientific innovations. The introduction and application of the new economic approach were discussed. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

KUBADINSKI IN VARNA--On 10 February Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, took part in the 26th accountability-elections meeting of the Varna City BCP Organization. Todor Stoychev, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the BCP Varna Okrug Committee, also attended the meeting. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

YORDANOV AT TEACHERS' MEETING--On 10 February in Sofia a meeting of the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Teachers took place. Future plans related to professional education schools were discussed. The meeting was attended by Comrade Georgi Yordanov. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

BULGARO-JAPANESE COOPERATION--Sofia, 10 Feb (BTA)--Mr Toncho Chakurov, Bulgarian minister of mechanical engineering, returned today from his business visit to Japan. He attended the inauguration of the new automated plant with the "Fanuk" firm in the Fuji town. He had business negotiations with specialists of a number of mechanical engineering plants and with the "Itoh" and "Kobe Steel" firms, discussing the possibilities for promoting the cooperation in metal-cutting and diesel engines manufacture. Joint companies with the participation of the firms mentioned above are expected to be set. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

BULGARO-CANADIAN SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION--Sofia, 10 Feb (BTA)--Mr Marin Petrov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian state committee for science and technological progress, told our newsman here that within the framework of the day of Bulgarian science and technology in Canada two scientific agreements have been signed by the two countries. The agreements between the Bulgarian State Committee for Science and Technological Progress and Carlton University in Ottawa and between the theoretical foundations of chemical technology laboratory with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Engineering Chemistry Department of the higher polytechnics of the University of Montreal provide for joint development of themes, exchange of scientists and scientific information, exchange of specialists coming for specialization courses and visits of the research heads working along different scientific lines. [Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

DOYNOV IN BLAGOEVGRAD--The accountability-election conference of the Blagoevgrad Municipal Party Organization has been held in Blagoevgrad. Comrade Otnyan Doynov attended the conference. Vasil Poptodorov was reelected first secretary of the Blagoevgrad Municipal Party Organization. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

FILIPOV AT SESSION--A session of the Central Cooperative Union Board was held today. Comrade Grisha Filipov, Drazha Vulcheva and Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services, attended the session. A program for expanding the basic activities of the union during the Eighth Five-Year Plan was adopted. Comrade Grisha Filipov spoke about the role and position of the Central Cooperative Union in ensuring more mass consumer goods and providing public services to the people. The ninth congress of the Central Cooperative Union will be held on 12 and 13 November 1981. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

DRAZHA VULCHEVA IN VRATSA--On 12 February in Vratsa a session of the okrug people's council took place. A review of the city people's councils during the last year was made. The session was attended by Drazha Vulcheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Dimo Dichev, chairman of the Central Committee of the fighters against fascism and capitalism. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Feb 81 AU]

FILIPOV IN SILISTRA--Comrade Grisha Filipov, accompanied by Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the Silistra Okrug Party Committee, and other okrug leaders visited some industrial enterprises in Silistra and acquainted himself with the organization of trade and public services at the worker collectives there. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 81 AU] Grisha Filipov, BC Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a joint session of the Silistra BCP Okrug Committee and the local people's council executive committee, headed by Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the Silistra Okrug Party Committee. Problems of building a material-technical base for an accelerated development of the Silistra Okrug in 1981 and during the Eighth Five-Year Plan period were discussed. The situation of scientific-technical progress in this okrug was dealt with and mechanization, as well as automation of production processes was discussed. Considerable attention was devoted to the social development of the okrug and to the full satisfaction of the population's comprehensive needs. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 13 Feb 81 AU]

TRICHKOV IN RUSE--A joint plenum of the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee and the local people's council executive committee is taking place in Ruse. The plenum is attended by Krustyu Trichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the people's and state control committee as well as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee and national assembly deputies of the okrug are also attending the session. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 81 AU]

YORDANOV IN MIKHAYLOVGRAD--A joint session of the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug Party Committee and of the Okrug People's Council has been held in Mikhaylovgrad. A long-term program for developing okrug education was discussed and adopted. Georgi Yordanov and Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education attended the session. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 81 AU]

PEKO TAKOV IN SVISHTOV--A jubilee marking the 125th anniversary of local reading room was held in Svishtov today. Nikola Vasilev, first secretary of the Veliko Turnovo Okrug Committee, read a greetings letter from Todor Zhivkov to the participants in the celebration. Peko Takov read a State Council's decree presenting the Georgi Dimitrov order to this reading room. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 81 AU]

CSO: 2200

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLAUSEWITZ ACCEPTED AS 'REFORMER AND PATRIOT' IN GERMAN HISTORY

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Jun 80 p 5

[Article signed 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 1 June: "Why Clausewitz Is the General of the GDR: 'He Has Served in the Cause of the People'--Tribute on 200th Birthday." A translation of GDR Maj Gen Reinhard Bruehl's article cited below is published under the heading, "Clausewitz Hailed as 'Progressive' Thinker in German History," in JPRS 75664, 9 May 80, No 1784 of this series, pp 23-33. A Translation of the East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG article cited below is published in pages following this commentary]

[Text] The 200th birthday of Prussian Maj Gen Carl von Clausewitz on 1 June was an occasion for all sorts of tributes to that Prussian reformer and military theoretician in the GDR. That chief-of-staff of the Prussian army, who died of cholera at the age of 51 on 1 November 1831 in Breslau, found his final resting place in 1971 in his hometown Burg near Magdeburg, when the Polish authorities handed his remains over to the GDR. Many publications on the occasion of his birthday in the GDR seek to prove "why Clausewitz is our general." The GDR people and its soldiers--according to Maj Gen Bruehl, director of the GDR Institute for Military History--in Clausewitz paid tribute to an outstanding patriot and military theoretician, whose work in the early 19th century "served the cause of the people and of social progress."

Like Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and other progressive officers he had belonged among those personalities who had resolutely fought against "feudal absolutistic oppression" and for bourgeois-democratic reforms in Prussia and had furthered the "patriotism of the popular masses" in fighting against foreign Napoleonic rule and for national independence. "That has assured him of an honored place within the image of history of the population of the German workers and farmers state." A special emphasis is placed in the GDR on Clausewitz' entering the Russian army in 1812. This step--"a response to the faint-hearted antinational policy of the Prussian king"--had relied on the hope that the victory by the Russian people and its army would also give a further boost to the national independence struggle of the German people. That hope had come true. Thereby Clausewitz had made a historically significant contribution to that goal by helping bring about the Tauroggen Convention between the Russian General Diebitsch and the Prussian General Yorck von Wartenburg.

As an important military theoretician, Clausewitz had recognized war as a social phenomenon and exposed the connection between politics and war ("war is a mere continuation of politics by different means . . . , an instrument of politics, and it needs must bear its character, must be measured with its yardstick"). His extensive military theory, especially his main oeuvre, "On War"--which Lenin recommended the Red Army commander should study and which in 1957 came out in a new edition in the GDR--, had been of far-reaching importance for the formation of a bourgeois military science and at the same time a step toward the "scientific war doctrine" as elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. By extending the ideas of Clausewitz, Marxism-Leninism offered a comprehensive definition of the nature of war and the wherewithal for exposing the causes and class character of wars, Maj Gen Bruehl says.

The East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG says that what was historically significant in the great patriot, reformer and military theoretician Clausewitz lives on "mainly in the struggle by our people and its military units, above all in our NVA, under tried and tested SED leadership." Even the KPD had held it in high esteem. In the antifascist resistance struggle, the National Committee and the "Free Germany" movement of 1943, the legacy of the reformer and patriot had lived on.

Clausewitz's 'Dialectic Method'

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 May-1 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by Dr Heinz Helmert: "Clausewitz--A Classic Writer of Military Science: 200 Years Ago One of the Most Profound Writers on Problems of War Was Born"]

[Text] Carl Philipp Gottfried von Clausewitz (1 June 1780 to 16 November 1831). He entered his military service in 1792 with the 34th Potsdam Infantry Regiment and took part in the Prussian and Austrian campaign against revolutionary France from 1793 to 1795. From 1801 to 1803 he studied at the Berlin academy for young officers. After the battle of Jena (1806) he landed in French captivity. As an officer of the Russian army, he took part in the battles of Borodino and at the Berezina in 1812. In 1813 he was appointed chief of staff of the Russian-German legion and, in 1815, the chief of staff of the Third Prussian Army corps in France. From 1813 to 1830 Clausewitz served as the director of the General War Academy in Berlin.

Still as a man of maturity Carl von Clausewitz would recall the "melancholic sentiments" crowding in on him when, only 12 years old, he had begun his service with Prince Ferdinand's infantry regiment as a private first class and corporal. The modest income of his father, a royal inland excise officer at Burg in the Elbe marshes, where Clausewitz was born, the number of grown children, and the pride of place of his father, whose rank of nobility was dubious and who had to quit the service as a lieutenant after being wounded, left open no other career alternatives for the sons. Clausewitz' bourgeois ancestors had been ministers and teachers,

his grandfather had even been a theology professor in Halle. His father, with reference to long forgotten ancestors, had bestowed the title of nobility on himself. He nevertheless managed to place Carl in the Potsdam regiment which was so proud of its rank of nobility.

At the battlefield along the Rhine Clausewitz came under fire for the first time in 1793, and as his soldier's fortune stayed with him, he quickly advanced to warrant officer and second lieutenant. He certainly did not understand the meaning of the war in which he had taken part. But now, still a boy, he was imbued with pride in his rapid career. This motivated him, there and later in the new garrison of the Neuruppin regiment, to keep a distance from the bawdy amusements of his comrades. The intellectual legacy of his learned ancestors furthermore showed itself in an insatiable thirst for knowledge.

After 6 tedious years of parade ground service Clausewitz, in 1801, managed to be admitted to the Berlin academy for young infantry and cavalry officers directed by Scharnhorst ever since he had entered Prussian service. After initial difficulties, due to his broad yet disorderly knowledge he had acquired on his own, he learned, with Scharnhorst's help, to penetrate military science rapidly and thoroughly. Friendship developed between the talented young man and the older one who was intellectually so mature, which would stand up under hard conditions.

As aide-de-camp to the Prince, Clausewitz found time and leisure since 1803 to continue his studies that dealt with the military and political lessons of the most recent wars and their causes and consequences. Lectures by the philosopher Kiesewetter led Clausewitz into the world of ideas of classical bourgeois philosophy and helped him in acquiring progressive methods of thinking. Even then certain elements developed--in extension of ideas of Scharnhorst--of the great theory on war he would elaborate later.

The years of the collapse and of the reforms between 1806/07 and 1812 also caused a deep caesura in Clausewitz' life. First being in French captivity, he joined a small group of men in the spring of 1808 who did not despair over the defeat and the oppressive peace but started systematically to rebuild the state and the army on a bourgeois foundation. They wanted to keep the monarchy, to be sure, but wanted to purge it of everything backward and foul while establishing an alliance between it and a nation of free citizens.

Liberal reforms and patriotic education, in the views of Stein, Scharnhorst, Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Boyen, Clausewitz and others, formed a basis for a resurgence of the states and for breaking Napoleon's iron yoke by the people armed from the top.

As Scharnhorst's close associate, Clausewitz, promoted to captain in 1809 and to major in 1810, took an active part in the reorganization of the army and in preparing the people for rising up against alien rule. But when in 1812 the king and his ministers faint-heartedly and treasonably subjected themselves to Napoleon's demands for an alliance, Clausewitz called it quits and in a confession explained with passion the steps he and other officers had taken. He made himself intolerable to the court thereby. But he joined the Russian army and fought against Napoleon's Grand Army.

Clausewitz took part in the battles of Smolensk and Borodino. Late in 1812 he contributed to the conclusion of the Tauroggen Convention, which signaled to all patriots the liberation struggle was about to begin. Though Scharnhorst urgently expected him to come to his aid, the king turned down any reappointment of the returnee. Clausewitz none the less fulfilled his duty to his fatherland in responsible posts in 1813 and 1814. Promoted colonel, he was eventually reappointed to the Prussian officers corps after all. In 1815 he joined the field as the chief of staff of an army corps. After the war he remained in the same function at general headquarters in Koblenz, which had become Prussian along with the Rhine Province, without however finding the assignment he had sought or real prospects for a higher troop command.

Scharnhorst had died in 1813 and Gneisenau had been shunted aside since 1816. Feudal reaction everywhere sought to remove the reformers and patriots from their positions. The promotion to major general in 1818 doubtless was an honor for the 38-year old Clausewitz, yet he was at the same time appointed director of the General War Academy in Berlin, a merely administrative function by which they removed him from any truly influential activity. Yet in a dialectic reversal of the intentions pursued by it, Clausewitz, even with his profound resignation, then found the leisure he needed to continue his studies. What mainly mattered to him was to counter the many systems evolved that sought to force also the new type of warfare under rigid rules by a theory which would meet the contradictory reality of war and at the same time incorporate the scientific legacy that had cost so much blood.

That war and politics hang together had already been said by other theoreticians, even by system designers Clausewitz opposed. He, however, exposed that politics was the whole and war a part of it and thus a continuation of politics by different, i.e. violent, means. From Marx, Engels and Lenin, who saw in Clausewitz a "star of principal magnitude" and one of the "most profound authors on military matters," we know that this was not just a matter of politics as such but that of the politics of certain classes. Through dialectic methods Clausewitz accomplished epistemological advances in military science which made him a classic author and are responsible for the fact that his insights outlasted his times and have maintained their great value in spite of all our enormous social and also military changes.

Clausewitz in 1827 set down in writing that he was afraid his ideas might in the future become subject of fatal misunderstanding. After Prussia had won the battles of Koeniggraetz in 1866 and Sedan in 1870, Prusso-German army commanders would espouse Clausewitz, but with the tacit reservation to accept only what conformed with their own opinions. German fascism corrupted the work of Clausewitz, turning him into a crown witness to its strategy in aggression and holding on to the bitter end. Today, ideologues in the Western world are eagerly, if vainly, searching the writings of the "newly discovered" Clausewitz for secret recipes that are meant to efface old defeats and avoid new ones.

To Clausewitz, in the position to gather enough war experiences of his own, war was a terrible matter that could be justified by the "most pertinent reasons" only. His theory, set down in "On War," which came out after his death in 1831, addresses the statesmen. He demanded of them to realize, then and for ever, the enormous responsibility in every step of theirs that would touch the boundary between peace and war.

Firm Place in GDR History

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 75 No 22, 27 May 80 pp 679-682

[Article by Hans-Joachim Laabs: "Why Clausewitz Is Our General"]

[Text] "Confused by all the parties' favor and their hate, his image vacillates through history." By these well-known words, Friedrich Schiller opens his "Wallenstein" and then reveals the essence of his drama: "Yet art shall now bring closer to your eyes, and to your hearts, what manner of man he was." Something like that can also be said about Karl von Clausewitz. We also should seek to grant a worthy place to this Prussian general in our historic conception.

Granted, Karl von Clausewitz did not make it easy for the historians and historiographers: At the age of twelve, as an officer cadet of Prussia, he marches against revolutionary Mainz, the first bourgeois republic on German soil. In 1809, three years after Napoleon had taken Berlin, we find him on Scharnhorst's side and as a teacher at the military school. What he teaches there is unconventional. The still young officer has early understood the difference between mercenary squads banking on nothing but superior fire power and the goal-oriented fighters of the revolution. In his political stance, he vacillates between the monarchism instilled in him and rebellion against the enthroned traitor. Unforgotten is the king's letter of devotion to Napoleon: "I am imbued with the warmest desire that Your Majesty be received and treated in my palaces in a fashion pleasing to Your Majesty." In 1812 Clausewitz enters Russian services because he thinks he can do more good from there to the struggle against the French occupiers. He conducts negotiations with Yorck for the conclusion of the Tauroggen Convention. When our NVA music band intones Beethoven's "Yorck March" in commemoration of a great patriotic deed, we should not forget Clausewitz' share in it. In 1814 he returns to Prussian services, and 4 years later he becomes the director of the General War Academy. Whether that is a distinction or only meant to shunt him aside remains uncertain to him. In any event, he uses the opportunity to familiarize young officers with his strategic and tactics theories and instill his national sentiment in them. In 1831 he becomes the chief of staff of Neithard von Gneisenau only to be snatched away a few months later by the cholera in Breslau. In 1971, the Polish authorities of Wroclaw hand his remains over to Berlin.

What caused all that restlessness in the life of Clausewitz? Why was he so often praised and censured, promoted and dropped, lauded and spat at? Are the causes to be found in his character, in his vacillating world-outlook? That did play a role, certainly: Karl von Clausewitz could not bust through his class boundaries, and national liberation remained tied to the idea of a strong monarchy all his life. Errors and quite some national presumption can be explained from that basic attitude. But to illuminate his attitude toward Prussia, we will less need psychological examinations of the person than historic investigations into Prussia. Who ruled in Prussia, how and to what end did one rule, and what was the character of the state? Why would one and the same Prussian king malign his most capable general as "cursed canaille" and then--having bestowed another star to his uniform--embrace the same fraternally?

Nothing new is meant to be assembled here on the biography of Clausewitz. GDR research, literature and mass media have done themselves proud, especially in recent years, in clarifying the events and interconnections of Prussian history and of the role of its outstanding personalities. They are on their way. We need no "Prussia Renaissance" for that as they do across the Elbe. The shadow and light of Prussia--the inversion of the classical metaphor is intended--are not gaged against the rulers' yardsticks. Historical materialism has calibrated the measuring rod. Karl von Clausewitz has written several important books. His chief oeuvre, "On War," justifies lifting him into the rank of a classic author, provided that breaking through earlier standards of thought and creating independent systems continue to rate as criteria for that kind of definition.

In his chief literary oeuvre Clausewitz develops the theory that attack is the best defense. Without attempting any thorough scientific exploration of that theory at this point, we should still point out the limitations of that theory's validity. It does not take into account the nature of a war. To decide about just and unjust wars remained reserved for future revolutionary theory and practice. We must make a point of how that insight has been misused. What Clausewitz designed under the conditions of the oppressed people for his particular liberation struggle cannot be abused to justify any kind of aggressive operation. But the enemies of world peace got wind, they thought, of an advantage. Dozens of "preventative wars" of imperialism perverted the defense idea of Clausewitz. Austria's war against Serbia, the Prusso-German surprise invasion of Belgium, Hitler's "lightning" against Norway, Carter's failed helicopter adventure at Tabas--everywhere the falsified Clausewitz idea had to do to justify aggression. More or less camouflaged by the guilt of "the other side," the aggressors forgot what was essential in Clausewitz, the attack for real defense. The acrobatics of the Western opinion molders will probably still find something in Clausewitz to justify the prearmament and excess mobilization resolution of Brussels or the "advanced strategy" as a whole. That does not fit the general at all, however.

Wherever warfare theory is taught in military academies all over the world, no one can get past Clausewitz. War, according to him, is the continuation of politics by different means. That realization killed the theories of many interpreters of conflicts between nations. Wars are not divinely decreed or blind fate. Warfare theory through Clausewitz becomes the doctrine on war that includes causes and effects. It places in doubt the Roman concept, "Si vis pacem, para bellum" (He who wants peace may prepare for war). Also the sentence that the father of all things is war is canceled out. No longer can it be resorted to if war is praised as that which promotes technical progress, if indeed technical progress per se is attributed to the coercion from military conflict.

In the 21st volume of his works (Dietz edition, 1960), Lenin wrote about military theory: "In application to warfare, the fundamental guideline of the dialectic is that war is merely a continuation of politics by different (i.e., violent) means. That is the formulation by Clausewitz, one of the great authors on matters of war history, whose ideas were fertilized by Hegel. And that precisely has always been the standpoint of Marx and Engels who conceived of every war as a continuation of the politics of the interested powers concerned--and of the various classes in them--in any given era." Here Lenin emphasizes what is likely to be the most important realization made by the general "with ink and saber."

Clausewitz takes all previous war theory out of the sphere of mythology, reducing it to the heart of the matter. By the side of Scharnhorst, he organized the people's resistance against aggressors and occupiers. Through his analysis of war he also contributed to ideologically arming the people, constrained of course by his class vision.

For that and many other reasons we enter Karl von Clausewitz on the credit side of our history textbook.

Reading about Burg in Magdeburg Bezirk in our country, we should not think only of crackers and metal plate. And even the Red Star shoe factory can only be taken as a part for the whole, even if it already shows a little of this city's line of tradition. In "Cobbler's Burg" of last century more than 40 percent of the inhabitants lived from leather processing. On 1 June, however, the city-fathers and citizens of Burg will commemorate the great citizen of their city: Karl von Clausewitz. There he was born, 200 years ago, as the son of a poor excise officer, who had been given a hard time by Prussian militarism though without making him get rid of the blinders of nobility. (However dubious the title inherited from Silesia may be). The son gained a better realization of the contradictions of his time. His critical mind and his brave deeds on the side of the struggling people assure a firm place for him in the annals of history--of our history.

National Democrats' View of History

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 31 May-1 Jun 80 p 7

[Article by Fred Dumke: "Carl von Clausewitz--Working in the Service of the People and Social Progress"]

[Text] On 1 June we shall celebrate the 200th birthday of the Prussian Maj Gen Carl von Clausewitz. The life, work and impact of this patriot, reformer and military theoretician belong among our people's progressive and humanistic traditions which have found their true home in our socialist GDR. Carl von Clausewitz, like Stein and Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Boyen, Fichte and Arndt, belongs among those historical personalities who at the time of deepest national shame and feudal-absolutist exploitation and oppression, against the tough resistance from the Prussian crown and its court camarilla, initiated the bourgeois transformation in Prussia. They activated and structured the patriotism of large parts of the people for overcoming alien Napoleonic rule.

Their work thus was historically significant in the sense of social progress. Together with other reformers and patriots around Stein and Scharnhorst, Carl von Clausewitz occupies an honored position in the scientific image of history of the workers class, through the increasingly deeper appropriation of which we national democrats, while exploring our own old and new historical insights and experiences, can still more accurately comprehend the importance of Clausewitz to his own and our times.

As allies of the leading workers class and its party, the SED, we are known to have devoted much attention to the study of German history, our historic legacy. In the process of appropriating the working class image of history, our coming to grips with the history of Prussia likewise has been an integral part of the more than 30 years of political-ideological activity by our party. From the time of its founding our party has resolutely fought against everything reactionary about Prussia. At the same time it has paid tribute to what has been progressive in Prussian history. At no time was Prussia identical with its ruling class. And even its rulers are now being rated with grater discrimination in line with the latest research in our history studies. Only one yardstick can be applied to them, that of their share in enforcing social progress.

Carl von Clausewitz was born on 1 June 1780 at Burg near Magdeburg as a son of a former lieutenant in Frederick the Great's army. That was a time of which G. W. F. Hegel, the philosopher, said: "Incidentally, it is not hard to see that our time is a time of birth and transition to a new era." And indeed, the basic social and historical problems of that epoch lay in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The world historic French Revolution (1789-94), together with the industrial revolution coming out of England, had decided the departure from feudalism as something irrevocable. This objective necessity also was brought to bear on Prussia. Napoleon's army, evolving from the revolution, had dealt the Prussian army a smashing defeat at Jena and Auerstedt (1806) which had made all too apparent that feudal-absolutistic Prussia was obsolete and rotten. In Prussia, the junkers' rule was heavily upset, the army in ruins, and the state machinery paralyzed in decisive respects. The Peace of Tilsit (1807) then became not only the "greatest humiliation for Germany" but "at the same time, a turn to an enormous national upswing," as Lenin saw it. Under the prevailing conditions, the bourgeoisie was neither mature nor capable enough to organize a revolutionary people's struggle and enforce progressive social changes, so as to do away with alien rule and provide room for establishing a bourgeois nation.

In that situation, the work of the reformer-patriots, representatives of a progressively oriented fraction of the nobility and of the bourgeois intelligentsia, became historically important. They had realized that without bourgeois reforms in economics, politics, administration and military affairs, no social progress, no advances in the national and social issues, were possible. The peoples should be given a fatherland if they were strongly to defend a fatherland (Gneisenau). Thus the concepts of the reformers for a national state banked on the strength of the people, armed popular resistance, and the people's uprisings. With word and deed Carl von Clausewitz fought in the sense of historic requirements. His thoughts greatly dealt with the question how the German national consciousness, bourgeois in essence, could be developed as a political, spiritual and moral source of strength of the people. Fichte's "Speeches to the German Nation" were of a high place value in all this.

Scharnhorst, as Gen Heinz Hoffmann has said, was a "patriot who found his honor in marching at the helm of progress and of military science and military theory development. In his social origin a peasant's son, in his political stance a bourgeois reformer, in his attitude and effort a revolutionary, he has entered German military history as the one who put the people under arms and organized the uprising against Napoleon. . . . With the name of Scharnhorst there also connect the glorious traditions of the German-Russian comradeship in arms."

Scharnhorst's ideas and actions had a permanent influence on his disciple Clausewitz who had entered the young officers' academy in Berlin. Great friendship developed between the two, which greatly stimulated Clausewitz. About that influence he himself said: "He is the father and friend of my mind." Scharnhorst had opened the door to the world of the sciences and to classical bourgeois philosophy and its dialectic as a theory and method for him who, successfully self-taught, would later become his best disciple.

Lessing, Kant, Herder and Hegel had proclaimed the idea of necessary world historic progress, the idea of development and of inevitability in history. They thereby definitively broke down the rigid princely and courtly conventions of thought. Influenced primarily by the great philosophers Kant, Fichte and Hegel, whose dialectic must be especially emphasized, and by the novel guidelines in Scharnhorst's concepts in military theory, and due to his own extensive studies in the science of warfare, Clausewitz between 1816 and 1830, the time of his famous chief oeuvre, "On War," reached very significant scientific insights, especially on the idea of development in military science and the interconnections between society, the state, politics and war.

"War is a mere continuation of politics by different means . . . , an instrument of politics, and must needs bear its character and be gaged with its yardstick." Clausewitz realized war is made by men, is a means of politics and of social interests. He inquired into the causes, the nature and meaning, the political end and goal of historically understood war. The importance of such a question has by no means lessened since then, as demonstrated by World War II and by the NATO's high mobilization course. He could of course not overcome the barriers erected to his understanding by his times and by his class standpoint. He could not yet understand the class nature of politics and of war.

Exposing the class nature of politics, however, only makes possible differentiating between just and unjust wars and extensively understanding the nature of war as well as the laws of armed struggle. The military theory of the workers class based on its scientific world-outlook is of a fundamentally new quality. Even so, Clausewitz remains a "star of the first rank" (F. Mehring). His work was an important scientific, political and military act by which he greatly contributed to surmounting feudal-absolutistic military affairs and their concept of war and furthered the transition to bourgeois military affairs. His main oeuvre, "On War," even is an important step toward the formation of a truly scientific military theory as established by Marx and Engels and further developed, in conformity with historic requirements of his time, by Lenin. Thus his work has still to tell us much today.

As Maj Gen Prof Dr Reinhard Bruehl writes in his substantive article on Clausewitz (EINHEIT, No 3, 1980), Clausewitz made his historically most important contribution to the national independence struggle by the German people at the time through taking part in bringing the Tauroggen Convention (December 1812) about. In protest against the shameful collaboration between Frederick Wilhelm III and Napoleon, who meanwhile had become the conqueror and oppressor of the peoples, Clausewitz too had quit Prussian army service in 1812 and gone to Russia, like Stein, to fight alongside the Russian people against alien Napoleonic rule and thereby also to help liberate his own people from it.

So Clausewitz, on behalf of the Russian General Diebitsch, negotiated the signing of a neutrality treaty with the commander of the Prussian auxiliary corps in the Napoleonic army, General Yorck. Clausewitz had a high share in General Yorck's decision, which then signaled the beginning finally of the German people's armed independence struggle. The victory in the war of independence of 1813 in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig crowned the work of the reformers.

If we national democrats, in terms of the two cardinal principles in our party policy, advocate the all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland, the GDR, and the fraternal alliance between our state and Lenin's country and the comradeship-in-arms between the glorious Soviet Army--our liberator--and the NVA, and among all Warsaw Pact state armies, we also at once rely on the historical traditions in German-Russian comradeship-in-arms. Carl von Clausewitz belonged among those Prussian officers who with all their strength and the risk of their lives fought in this armed alliance for the people and for social progress. At 51 years of age, worn down by the ingratitude and the chicaneries of the Prussian court, emotionally broken, the General became an easy victim of a cholera infection.

The historic significance of this great patriot, reformer and military theoretician lives on mainly in the struggle by our people and its armed units, above all our NVA, under the tried and tested leadership of the SED. Already the KPD always paid high tribute to Clausewitz. In the antifascist resistance struggle, in the National Committee and in the Free Germany movement, the legacy of the reformer-patriot lived on. The patriotic and humanistic traditions of the reformers found great response also, and particularly, among those officers coming out of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie who, realizing the need for the anti-imperialist struggle, joined the side of the leading force, the KPD, and contributed, together with German and Soviet communists, to the victory over German imperialism, fascism and militarism, and to the decline of the German Empire, generated by blood and iron, and of the Prussian state. It fills us with pride that among those patriots also are our chairman, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann and many other executive members of our party. By our people's efforts for socialism and peace and its work on behalf of the fraternal GDR-USSR alliance, we bestow timely honor upon Carl von Clausewitz, an important personality in German history and military history.

Liberal-Democrat Organ's Commentary

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 21 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Jan von Flocken: "What Clausewitz Thought of Warfare: Ideas of the Prussian General as Reflected in the Past 150 Years--Basis for Military Science"]

[Text] For the occasion of his 200th birthday, Carl von Clausewitz this year became the focal point of many reviews and induced a thorough consideration of his work and his era. Tribute has consistently been paid in recent times to the ideas of the Prussian general and his personality as a reformer and patriot. Together with Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Stein, he is among those "revolutionaries from above" who paved the way for a progressive development.

Clausewitz and Prussia

No longer is it conceivable to stereotype Clausewitz as "conservative-liberal." Arguing that he was conservative because he wanted to preserve the Prussian monarchy would mean a departure from a concretely historical interpretation. If Clausewitz affirmed the Prussian monarchy, it was only consistent for his time. There was no basis then for a republic, either in ideas or materially. Nor would a Prussian bourgeoisie, frightened by the French Revolution (and its republic!), in which it saw an anarchic overthrow by an unleashed rabble, ever have been interested in a republican form of government. In those terms then Clausewitz took into account the historical exigencies of his time, which always distinguished him greatly.

Clausewitz and Hegel

It is perfectly correct to say that Clausewitz meant for military theory exactly what Hegel means to philosophy. His method of analysis is dialectical. He starts from the proposition that the object of his investigation develops and changes, and he looks at war not only as a state of affairs but as a process. At the same time he views war not as a process explicable per se but as a phenomenon rooted in and affecting society. Clausewitz turned warfare from a mathematical into a social science. Thus he made a vital contribution to the emergence of bourgeois military science.

But, just as Hegel, Clausewitz was an idealist. Constrained by the barriers to ideological understanding in his time, he neither recognized the cause of war policy nor did he understand politics as an expression of class interests. This we may state about the great man without being in any way pedantic about him. Historical distinctions," as Lenin formulated it, are, after all, "not judged by what historic personalities, gaged against today's requirements, have failed to do but by their innovative achievements in comparison with their predecessors."

Clausewitz and His Work

It therefore became indispensable to examine Clausewitz' oeuvre, "On War," in the effects it had on military theory during the subsequent 150 years. Best known probably is Clausewitz' thesis on war as a continuation of politics by different means. The book, "On War," says: "War is an instrument of politics and must needs bear its character and be measured with its yardstick; the conduct of war in its main outlines thus is politics itself which exchanges the pen for the sword but has not, by that token, stopped thinking in accordance with its own laws."

By, moreover, referring to "wars according to the nature of their motives and relations," Clausewitz brings out that he recognizes differences not only in the military character of wars, but also in their political character. Such striking statements are novel in quality. Warfare has been purged of its mystical embellishments and has been recognized as a means of politics and social interests.

But to Clausewitz, politics was "the intelligence of the personified state," of the "representative of all interests of all society," yet not an expression of class interests. Thus Clausewitz could not see the connection between politics and the economic base. And so it remained for Marx, Engels and Lenin to raise the question of just and unjust wars.

Clausewitz and Moltke

Prussian military leaders in the 19th century had of course read their Clausewitz. Moltke, chief of the general staff, profited from such studies. But whereas to Clausewitz war is a means of politics, for Moltke politics will make for war, to be sure, and has to handle the transition to peace, but it has otherwise no business to interfere with the conduct of war.

This relationship in favor of the political factor kept developing further constantly. After the emergence of imperialism the verbal appreciation of the work of Clausewitz would less and less coincide with an appreciation of the content of his ideas. Such a development logically culminated in a total rejection of his ideas. Ludendorff demanded in 1935: "All theories by Clausewitz have to be replaced."

. . . and Some Arrogation

Today it seems as if bourgeois military leaders had again taken cognizance of the "actual" Clausewitz. At a session of the Clausewitz Society in April 1980, FRG Defense Minister Apel announced: "Clausewitz' norm that war had to support only meaningful political purposes is still valid today." But that only means that war of aggression can always be unleashed and supported as long as imperialism thinks it supports "meaningful political purposes" and is successful. Clausewitz as the crown witness for global NATO plans--that means fooling with an unfit object. For in this connection we ought to recall another word of Carl von Clausewitz that the aggressors should keep in front of their nose: "If politics promises itself false effects from certain belligerent means and measures not conforming to its nature, its provisions may have a harmful effect on war."

Thus it becomes clear why Engels called Clausewitz a "star of the first rank" and Lenin regarded him as the "most famous writer on the philosophy of war." A great man in German historiography, Franz Mehring, offered this formulation: "His work was however not only a scientific but also a military, and in that sense a political act."

5885

CSO: 2300

PAX CHAIRMAN REIFF CRITICIZES GIEREK REGIME IN INTERVIEW

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 20 Sep 80 pp 1, 16

[Interview with PAX Chairman Ryszard Reiff, by EXPRESSO correspondent Francesco Strazzari; date and place not given]

[Text] Warsaw--With more than 20,000 members, PAX is the strongest Catholic movement in Poland. Founded by Piasecki 35 years ago, held in disdain by the Catholic hierarchy until a few years ago because of its gradual infiltration into the political and social sphere, it has six representatives in parliament. Dr Reiff, its chairman and a well-known Polish jurist, caused a sensation by intervening in parliament after the Danzig accords. Therefore, EXPRESSO decided to hear his side of the story and granted him an interview.

[Question] Did PAX indicate its disagreement with the positions taken by the government and party before the outbreak of the strikes? Had it clearly asserted that the economic plan launched by Gierek during the 1970's was doomed to failure?

[Answer] I think that Gierek's plan never existed. We were experiencing a period of immobilization and were continuing to do so. In time, we came to the conclusion that little or nothing was being done, and censorship was becoming increasingly severe.

[Question] Thus, it is understood that the main reason for the revolt by the workers was precisely this severe censorship. The people were not well aware of the situation. They could not participate in political life. Censorship had impoverished intellectual life and there was no possibility of thinking about reforms. This being the case, I should like to ask you why the problem of censorship is not being placed in the forefront.

[Answer] In the forefront I see a disastrous administration.

[Question] That of the government or that of the party?

[Answer] The government administers, and the party is a power at a higher level. But first and last, it is the government which must answer.

The crisis is continuing in Poland, and the government is being seriously affected, reforms being the last hope of socialism. There is an impressive feeling of unity between the workers and intellectuals, workers who are showing great maturity and will to collaborate.

Reiff told us that independent and self-governing unions want to control the party, and he revealed the promises the party had made them. He said they want a renewal of socialism, not a struggle against it.

He emphasized that what is happening in Poland is not action against socialism but a desire for a new socialism in which the people may play a major role, the principal role.

I asked him if this new socialism will also be accepted in the Soviet Union.

[Question] Does Suslov, the "god of socialism," accept this new imposition?

[Answer] It is too early to say. Poland sent the Soviet Union a capable interlocutor, Jagielski. The week he spent in Danzig with the workers was worth more to him in the way of experience than 20 years in the party.

I believe he told Suslov that the labor movement is a force which cannot be confined and that it is not against socialism. He mentioned at the plenary session that three things impressed him during the strike: exemplary organization, iron discipline and extremely severe orders. Anyone who spoke irresponsibly was immediately separated from the group. Everyone was asking how the workers had become so well educated.

[Question] I should like to make an observation and ask you if you agree.

What could not be done until now with great dissertations on the various concepts of the world, history and the relations between Christians and Marxists was achieved in Danzig, Stettin and Silesia in contact with reality.

[Answer] I agree. This is precisely what PAX has been fighting for since it was founded. What really counts is facing up to reality.

8568

CSO: 3101

TRAINING UNDER CIVILIAN SCHOOL MILITARY DEPARTMENTS DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Captain Janusz Borkowski: "Defense Preparedness of Youth"]

[Text] A special place in the training of society to defend the country is reserved for the Military Departments [SW] of the higher schools. They are subordinate to the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology in this function. They represent the basic unit for preparing cadre reserves for the armed forces and for civil defense units. The Military Departments, as organizational units of educational institutions, participate actively in implementing the teaching-educating process conducted in schools and in developing patriotic attitudes among academic youth.

Throughout its existence, the activity of the SW has been continually improved. This is the result of increased requirements which accompany technical progress, organizational-schooling modifications for the armed forces and the national self-defense tasks which confront the system.

Organization of the Training Process

In recent years principles of innovative teaching and the closely related training methods have become more and more universal in most Military Departments.

Very good teaching conditions have been created in many SW. The continually expanding, effectively used modern teaching base is evidence of this. It is used by the SW of Warsaw University, Slask University, Wroclaw Polytechnical School, Krakow Polytechnical School and Poznan Polytechnical School, among others.

Methodology study rooms and lecture halls are equipped with industrial television, audiovisual aids, well stocked libraries and film libraries which are currently in use by the majority of SW lecturers. These increase training efficiency and the effectiveness of the officers' work.

In everyday life close cooperation with higher military schools and Polish Army [WP] units is of utmost importance in the implementation of the tasks facing SW. Extremely useful is the help in this regard given by the SW of the Political Academy, the Academy of the WP General Staff, the Inspectorate of Civil Defense and the CZOLOWKA Film Producers in the development of scientific teaching materials.

Better and better qualified cadres and the development of the teaching-training base attest to the fact that the SW are fulfilling their tasks properly. Year after year, better and better prepared officer cadets are sent to Reserve Officers Schools [SOR] and to civil defense units. In addition to their indispensable knowledge of defense, these cadets have also acquired the appropriate special skills. The most gratifying results in this regard have been attained by the SW of the following institutions, among others: Lodz University, Slask University, Warsaw University, Warsaw Polytechnical School, Slask Polytechnical School, Krakow Polytechnical School, the Higher Pedagogical School in Szczecin and the Economics Academy in Wroclaw.

Universal Obligatory Military Service

The achievements of recent years is a measure of the progress that has been made in SW activities. Attainments in the field of training organization and ideological training activity represent a solid foundation for the implementation of the new, complex tasks facing the SW.

These tasks were specified in the Law concerning the Universal Obligation to Defend the Polish People's Republic, which was amended in 1979. The comprehensiveness of the defense system and the strengthening of its connection with the whole makeup of national life have created the need for enrichment of the forms in which citizens fulfill their legal responsibilities in the name of national defense. This is underlined in the principle of the universality and equality of the obligation of military service, a principle which is reflected in the system of restraining graduates of institutes of higher learning.

The experience of past years unequivocally confirms the idea that one year of military service for graduates of civilian higher schools offers substantial benefits. In addition to acquiring broader military knowledge in accordance with contemporary needs, the graduates also perfect their vocational skills and, most importantly, they master skills related to organizing activity and leading groups of people.

In accordance with a law of the 1980-1981 academic year, all students who, in accordance with new regulations, are considered to be capable of military service, are subject to military training. The law also imposes the obligation of undergoing restraining and practical training in military units on all graduates of higher institutions who are capable of military service.

The graduates of institutions of higher learning who achieve the best results in their studies in SW and in social action will be sent, as in the past, to Reserve Officers School. After they have completed their training and served in a unit they will be promoted to the grade of second lieutenant of the reserve. The remaining graduates of schools of higher learning will undergo military retraining in Reserve Officer Cadet Schools [SPR]. SPR students who attain the best results in the course of their study and service in the military will also be appointed to the first officer grade. On the other hand, officer cadets of the reserves who, upon completion of their year of service, are not promoted to the cadre of reserve officers, may attain the officer's grade after several sessions of short-term military retraining.

Program Changes

The law also defines the principles for conducting defense training within the framework of civilian institutions of higher learning. These will embrace primarily female students and that portion of the male students who, because of the state of their health or other reasons, will be exempted from the obligation of military retraining. However, students who have had defense training and whose health places them in the A1 to A3 categories, may be called to serve for one year in the military.

The amendment of the regulations has created the necessity of introducing definite changes into the program of training academic youth. Current efforts to improve this program aim at adapting the program to new, qualitatively higher needs. Consequently, more emphasis in military training has been placed on preparing students to fulfill their obligations as lower level leaders and specialists in the area of servicing equipment. In defense training, on the other hand, the amount of hours devoted to teaching civil defense questions and health care-defense questions has increased considerably.

Program changes also affect the subject matter of the course, "Foundations of Defense Policy of the Country." Materials affording students a broader knowledge and understanding of the defense needs and requirements of the state have been expanded. The course more closely connects the teaching process with the various forms of ideological-political work. This makes possible the more effective development of the basic civic and social virtues among youth: patriotism and ideological awareness, involvement in social efforts and activities and conscientiousness and a sense of responsibility in the fulfillment of student or officer cadet duties. Thematically, this course will be correlated with the sociopolitical disciplines within the framework of the obligatory program for training students, with the remaining subjects taught in SW, and with training planned for longterm military service in the SOR, SPR and military units.

In accordance with laws passed by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology and the Ministry of National Defense, training in SW, according to the amended program, will be gradually shifted to the later semesters. In this way, the time gap between a student's training within the SW framework and the perfecting of his knowledge and skills in SOR and SPR will be narrowed.

In accordance with the tasks resulting from the law in the area of the military service of graduates of civilian institutions of higher learning, the number of positions in the armed forces in the junior command cadre and in the cadre of specialists for servicing combat equipment will be appropriately increased. This will allow us to make effective use of their military skills and vocational qualifications. Moreover, it will mean that during their service in the military all graduates will be practically prepared to fulfill future socioeconomic tasks.

8536

CSO: 2600

ROMAN NEY'S ADDRESS AT SIXTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM NOTED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10/11, Oct-Nov 80 pp 64-68

[Address by Roman Ney, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee and rector of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow, at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw 4-5 September 1980]

[Text] It is a great responsibility to speak at today's plenum. All of us realize this. When we were traveling to Warsaw yesterday we were under strong pressure from all of public opinion, principally that of party members who have high hopes for the present plenum. The present plenum, comrades, is a great chance for us, if we carry it out well to the end. But if we do not utilize this chance, then we are afraid to contemplate what may happen. Such is the mood in the party organizations. And, therefore, excuse me, Comrade Kania, but perhaps these 15 minutes is probably not what we need here today. We were limited also by television at some other plenums. If the party and the central authorities were preparing this plenum for a month in such a situation, then I believe that if need arises we should deliberate for as long as 3 days, but we should finally settle the matter because this is simply the most important thing.

The report and materials which have been supplied to us contain a proper evaluation, but probably it will have to be made in even greater depth. The criticism which is heard at party meetings and concerns the situation in our country is much harsher and more in-depth than the criticism which is heard from people standing in lines. The latter is more biting, but we also have to take it into account.

Prevalent in the party, at least in my party organization in the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy [in Krakow], is enormous bitterness, I would say a grudge against the party leadership who at least for several years have not paid attention to what the party was saying and to what was occurring in the party. And I want to say that the party was telling everything that was going on in our country. If in 1975-1976 and the succeeding years notice had been taken of what was being said in the party organizations, the matters would look different today. Here the comrades have said that wrong things in the party began to occur after 1976, but I believe that they were occurring as early as 1973, when addresses at the first party conference were being censored. Comrades, I ask: Who needed that and what was its purpose. I was fortunate to have a very mild censor.

There is no other alternative. We must, first of all, improve the way in which our party functions. And our society is convinced that in our country everything begins with the party and, when bad times come, comrades, it also ends with the party. There is no other alternative. Renewal in the spirit of socialist democracy must include our party. This is a requirement of the times and the general expectation of not only party members. What else has led to this? We must tell ourselves clearly that this is not a passing opportunity, a situation that is not only a matter of time, because our nation wants this. But we must also tell ourselves that the methods of work of the party echelons and of the party and, in a further sense, also of the state authority, are not suited to the present conditions of the social, economic, and cultural development of our country. Other methods of administration were sufficient under conditions of postwar reconstruction and expansion. Today, when computerization has been introduced, when we have a large industry--and this needs to be emphasized as being to the party's credit--these methods are not sufficient. In sum, it is certainly easier to manage with the aid of telephones and directives, only that today nobody wants to listen to it any more and it no longer brings any results. Therefore, I fully support all these preliminary announcements which both in the report and in the materials concern changes in the methods of the party's work. There is one more thing. Let us not be afraid of discussion inside the party. This issue is raised even by our party evaluations of political work. At the plenums of the Central Committee and of provincial committees, only economic topics were discussed, and there was little discussion of anything that touched upon the party's work or upon ideology. This is having its effect on the party today. On the other hand, we, this disarmed party, were being persuaded to constantly fight the opposition with political methods. Something is wrong here, comrades. First there must be training in political methods in the party itself. Comrades, let us not fear difference of opinion here. Neither the Political Bureau nor the Central Committee can work anonymously; we must know the persons who lead our party, also their views and their actions. The time has come for it in the party.

The party leadership at present is subjected to very severe criticism in an atmosphere of profound distrust. Discussions take place at party meetings. But it is particularly difficult to explain to our youth, including student youth, how under conditions of the collective action of the Political Bureau--the materials do not explain this fully--distortions could have occurred in the work of two persons, because that is how I understand it, of the first secretary and the premier. How could two persons have led 14 persons by the nose, how could it have come to that? It is possible to explain all this to us, but it is very difficult to explain it to the rank and file. At the same time, ordinary questions come to mind, and they have to be answered. Were there no people with other opinions in the [Political] Bureau, and why did those people, as one can guess, leave the Political Bureau while the rest of the bureau's members remained silent? The party demands this answer from us. After the plenum we will return to meetings of party organizations and we will have to give this answer. Indeed, the party hinted at that not only in a direct discussion before the eighth congress, but even earlier. Nobody was listening, however.

The leadership of the party simply allowed itself to be manipulated into this whole mechanism of bad economic measures. But this is difficult to explain to

our society and to party members. Let us turn to newspapers and television newscasts of the 1970s: every Political Bureau approved a new large investment. But indeed, someone had to make a study of it and someone had to work on it.

After 1970, a great opportunity was created for our science. But simultaneously a slogan was created--as it turned out, exclusively for propaganda--of involving science, or, more broadly speaking, professional people in general, in expert studies and scientific opinions. Numerous councils and teams were appointed, which, one has to say, were fictitious. Nobody took notice of the results of their work and nobody drew any conclusions from it. The Polish Academy of Sciences itself, with the participation of practitioners, prepared more than 20 comprehensive expert treaties presenting clearly and in detail a number of problems which are now hurting us and being discussed by us. A disquieting atmosphere of contempt for science began to arise. Clear signs of it were glaringly evident as early as 1975. Expert studies had been prepared by scientists and professionals which indicated considerable risk in purchasing a license for liquefying coal through Koppersstock's method. As it was only our economic situation that prevented purchasing this license; but the decision [to purchase it] had already been signed by three members of the Political Bureau.

As scientists from the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy we spoke clearly, in several documents, against the whole concept of the Katowice Iron and Steel Works and, more broadly, against the concept of metallurgy. All that was later distorted. Professor Kopecki, a nonparty person, but one who was dedicated to what was being done in our country, as early as 1975 argued for the need to launch a government program in the area of energy development. At that time it was already evident that we would have to turn off 50 percent of all the light bulbs. At that time, however, the program was not initiated and worked out. It should be said that the Ministry of Science, where I also worked for some time, for various subjective reasons seriously hampered the launching of this program. It has become a program only for the next 5-year period, but in a situation in which we already have an energy crisis. If scientific research concerning the Lublin Coal Basin in the form of a comprehensive program of management of the basin had been initiated 5 years earlier, as was urged repeatedly, we would not have problems with shafts which are being sunk at present, because today we know exactly where these shafts should be located. Alongside the manipulation of the party there was also increasing manipulation of science. This affected also the functioning of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The truth is that the share of outlays for research in the gross national income amounted, according to official data, to 2.8 percent in 1970, to 2.3 percent in 1975, to 2 percent in 1976, and to 2 percent in 1978. World data for 1975 are: the Soviet Union--4.8 percent, Hungary 3.4 percent, Czechoslovakia--3.9 percent, the GDR--4 percent, Poland--2.3 percent. Here is a picture of how science was really treated.

At present, with fervor, in a heated but also reasonable atmosphere--and this is our success--a discussion is taking place in our colleges concerning the self-government and the form of institutions of higher education, the activity of youth organizations, and the functioning and better utilization of institutions of higher learning in the social and economic development of our country. This is a difficult discussion, but we are carrying it on from 14 to 20 hours daily, day

and night. Generally one points out various imperfections in the functioning of the present system of higher education, and one points out the need to liquidate in institutions of higher education--which has already been initiated--complex indexes and norms which lead nowhere and which, indeed, oppress our industry also. We are demonstrating great concern in our work with youth. An independent student organization has appeared in the form of an independent student association. Some time ago a decision was made unnecessarily to disband the Polish student association in colleges. It was a good organization, but it fell victim to manipulation of the youth movement. Many of the comrades who are present in this hall today, including members of the Political Bureau, were once brought up in that organization. The whole political dialogue with youth is still ahead of us and here we have to act very reasonably, but at the same time adhering to principles. Our youth needs our party help, and we must render this help to our youth.

Very sharp and basic discussion is taking place in the party concerning so-called guarantees in the methods of the party's work, which the comrades here have spoken about. I wanted to say that I am familiar with the letter Comrade Moczar sent to the members of the Central Committee. He will certainly speak about it. I support the ideas of this letter with regard to the functioning of the party's leadership, i.e. the separation of the Political Bureau from the party. I hope that the comrades vice premiers will not hold it against me if I say that I believe that except for the premier no member of the government should be a member of the Political Bureau, there being no need for it, since in our country the post of vice premier is in and of itself a very important one. On the other hand, I think that the makeup of Political Bureau should include at least 50 percent of local party activists who do not work in the central party and state apparatus. In my opinion, this would be a kind of guarantee, on the basis of present experience, of the Political Bureau's being in close and direct touch with local developments. I regard this as a very important matter. Let it be someone from among local [party] secretaries; let it be someone who works in agriculture, in industry, or other branches of our economy. The expense of transporting these comrades by airplane to Warsaw every week or every other week will pay off.

There are many discussions on the topic of the congress. I believe that this is the principal matter in the party at this moment and that there is a need to speak clearly about convening a congress. I believe we could afford to appoint at this plenum a congress [organizing] commission. Let us not deceive ourselves that the commission will be a better one if we discuss this for a very long time. What matters at this moment is authenticity, and if some formal or other difficulties already exist, then it seems to me that the next plenum of the Central Committee, which the comrades are also pointing out, should be devoted to the party's work. This is what we greatly need at present, and even now at this plenum a decision should be made concerning the congress [organizing] commission. I support the term-of-office principle and changes in the election rules.

There is one more thing. We cannot be a silent Central Committee. What do I mean by this, comrades? It is not enough for us to work only at the plenum; the members of the Central Committee and their deputies should act jointly in special commissions. Let us not be afraid that a department chief, in addition to his normal duties, will have to convince the commission about the merits of a program

which he wants to implement. I am convinced that this will be a creative discussion which will spur our party on to more effective work. I fully support establishing statutory guarantees, and I believe that our congress simply should do some work on it.

There is one more thing which is being discussed a great deal. It is time for our party to gain certain necessary perspective with regard to what occurs in the government and other organs of power. This is being discussed a great deal today, particularly among youth. Why must a party secretary--I refer here to the speech of Comrade Babiuch at the infamous Sejm of 1976--support proposals which are presented by the government? Why must a party secretary, and Comrade Pinkowski performed this function before, be the person reporting these bad plans which were presented in the Sejm? It does not have to be so. The party will then attain its proper leading role, above all, through its members and owing to the fact it will be able to intervene when there is evidence of something being done incorrectly. We can afford to make a real parliament of the Sejm's plenum. Let us not be afraid of passing a law or a resolution with 10-15 representatives not voting. We really do not need this unity at any price which, after all, is a fictitious one. It brings considerably more harm than good. And, for this reason, if there is some sort of discussion and some controversial matters at meetings of Sejm commissions, and if some new ideas are born there, this loses its importance completely at a higher level. Let me tell you here about Professor Miesowicz, a nonparty person. He has been awarded the Medal of Builder of People's Poland, and has established a whole school of applied nuclear physics technology in our country. He was a representative and he served well--very well, I would say--he often involved himself. But when he, as a thinking person, drew attention to the fact that one thing takes place at a party meeting being attended also by nonparty person and then a completely different thing is presented at a plenum of the Sejm, he wrote a letter. They had a conversation with him which, however, did not convince him. He has not accepted an offer to be a representative for the present term.

What do I see as a way out of this situation? I ask this because what matters today is how to find a way out. Despite everything, I am optimistic here. Our country is indeed rich. And that is why we will indeed find a way out of this difficult situation if we first of all spur the party, and then the nation, on to action. Obviously, this is much more difficult to do now than it was in 1970. At this moment we lack clearance for our plan. This must be accomplished in two stages--discussion at the lower level and generalization at the higher level, and only later through convincing the work forces about the feasibility of the plan. This is a fundamental matter, without which we will not improve the labor productivity and will not get anything started. The matter is serious, and I believe that we have no time to lose.

The next problem is efficient management. Our country's resources are large. I speak here about only a part of the resources, that is, about mineral resources. This is not a charge addressed to Comrade Lejczak or to anyone, but this is an objective matter which has been timely for a number of years. After all, and Comrade Barcikowski is a witness to this, we have often conversed on this topic. What the situation looks like in coal mining is that for every ton of mined coal

there is an irrecoverable loss of a documented 2.5 tons of this resource. The miners themselves, during negotiations in Jastrzebie, called attention to the enormous waste of our resources. In sulphur mining the ratio is one ton to two. The same occurs, to a lesser extent, in copper, zinc, and lead mining. If we could improve coal mining economy, we would then build fewer mines. In this I see proper utilization of natural resources and an enormous chance for a rebirth of our economy.

The next problem is that we have 1.1 million people with higher education. To the party goes the enormous credit for having brought this about. Education is expensive, and so we must begin to manage this living material differently. Enormous waste has been occurring here up to this time.

In closing I wish to express my belief that if we are able to utilize this plenum with adherence to principles and in a fighting spirit and bring it to its proper conclusion, we will, though not without difficulty, find a way out of all these problems.

9476

CSO: 2600

REJECTION OF LCY LEADERSHIP NOMINEE IN KRUSEVAC ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1565, 28 Dec 80
pp 15-16

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic, NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE Staff Writer]

[Text] Although he enjoyed the support of the political forums of the city, Adam Milenkovic was not elected president of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists; those with whom he had once worked in the factory shop voted against him.

Although he enjoyed the full support of the city's political leadership, Adam Milenkovic was not elected president of the Krusevac Opstina Conference of the League of Communists. In this political event, so rare for Yugoslav circumstances, the crucial moment was played out at the 14 October Industry plant, where for many years Milenkovic had been a worker. And thus those with whom he had worked in the same factory shop did not support him.

For 7 years prior to this event, Milenkovic had been secretary of the League of Communists opstina committee.

Why had the city, with a workers' tradition much more than a century old, refused to accept Milenkovic, who was in fact a worker? In performing his professional political duties for 7 years, had he lost certain features that are crucial for people who perform important duties? How justified is the assertion, which can be heard in Krusevac, that the entire occurrence is an echo of public dissatisfaction, not only with Milenkovic's work but with the work of some others, who make up the very top leadership of the city? There are endless questions, and there is no reason to air them publicly, as is happening in Krusevac.

Against Professionalism

Of the 21 basic LCY organizations at the 14 October Industry plant, 19 came out against the candidacy of Adam Milenkovic, while 16 rejected the entire list of candidates for the new composition of the LCY Opstina Committee. These are the results of voting in the collective to which Milenkovic belonged, and to which, according to the official "proposal of candidates," "he has an agreement to return to associated labor, after the expiration of his electoral mandate."

Similar results occurred in other Krusevac collectives. The executive secretary of the LCY Opstina Committee, Zvonimir Uzarevic told NIN that 228 organizations accepted Milenkovic, while 101 voted against him. Uzarevic stated, "There is no reason for us to hide it, the majority voted against him, for those organizations that did not accept Milenkovic have more members than those who voted for the candidate."

"We rejected the list as a whole. The LCY Opstina Committee did not live up to expectations during Milenkovic's second term. Our reasons are based on principles. Our LCY organization in Krusevac openly opposed Milenkovic's reelection 3 years ago as secretary of the Opstina committee. Then as now, we pointed out the shortcomings in the work of the opstina committee, particularly in its political positions regarding what is happening at the 14 October plant." This statement came from Zivojin Vulikovic, secretary of the party organization of the basic organization of associated labor for the development of production; he made the statement to reporters for the newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

We obtained essentially the same declarations from workers employed at the Merime chemical factory. The party secretaries of 4 basic organizations of associated labor of this well-known factory, Milijana Petrovic, Jovanka Iricenin, Ivan Baksic and Rodoljub Gromic agreed with the assessment that "all the workers were bothered by the fact that Milenkovic had been secretary for 7 years and, instead of returning to his labor organization, from which he had come, he was being proposed for president of the LCY Opstina Conference." The Merime workers sent their positions as communists to the Opstina committee. Some excerpts of the stenographic record kept at those meetings follow: "The LC organization of the Development of Investment organization does not support the candidacy of Adam Milenkovic for president of the LCY opstina conference organization, because he has served 2 terms in the duties of secretary of the Opstina Committee. We consider that this becomes professional political involvement, and that he should return to regular work in the job that he came from... The candidacy of Zivorad Jovanovic for secretary of the Opstina Committee is not supported, nor the candidates for executive secretaries, because we do not approve of the same people always holding the primary positions..."

"It is the position of the communists that the idea of comrade Tito is not being conscientiously applied regarding collective work and a one-year electoral mandate, and that the request for the socialization of political functions is not being honored. It is the general attitude that the comrades involved (indicating Milenkovic and Jovanovic--note by NIN) have been involved in politics professionally for a number of years, and that their candidacies would continue to foster political professionalism, which would be in direct contradiction to comrade Tito's idea of democratization and socialization of political function..."

A Bad Miscalculation

"The Krusevac workers were nearly unanimous regarding Adam Milenkovic's candidacy," stated Milijana Petrovic. "Their wish that Milenkovic not be elected was fulfilled. We expected, at least we here at the Merime plant, that another list of candidates would be proposed to us. At the meeting at the Opstina Committee, they promised

to do that. Unfortunately, that did not happen. Thus Zivorad Jovanovic was elected secretary of the Opstina Committee, and Zivojin Pejic was elected president of the LCY organization Conference, without the workers being consulted. We are surprised by such an action."

It is also significant that the personnel commission of the opstina section of the Federation of National Liberation War Veterans' Associations was opposed to Milenkovic's candidacy. Thus, after counting all those who were opposed, one might justifiably ask how could it happen that the long-time secretary of the Committee could be proposed for president of the Conference. We discussed this at the Opstina Committee offices with Zivojin Pejic, the new president of the Conference, and with executive secretaries of the Opstina Committee Zvonimir Uzarevic and Borisav Urosevic. All agreed that the candidacy of Milenkovic was "a bad political miscalculation." They remind us that no official evaluation of the entire matter has been made, and that that will soon be done.

Why did all of this happen in Krusevac?

There was no simple answer to that question, although we spoke with about 30 people, many of whom asked that their names not be mentioned in the newspaper.

Among other things, many of them mentioned an event that awakened spirits in Krusevac. In the nicest part of town, called "the Bagdala wreath," almost overnight the building site land was parcelled out. In fact, the sites were distributed on which certain influential, or somewhat similarly labeled, comrades might build family homes. There were vague murmurings about that for some time, only to finally, publicly, loudly and clearly be denied. All was, of course, stopped abruptly.

A Political Sense

Most of the comments related to usurpation of power. For many years the city was dissatisfied, as graphically stated by a newspaper colleague, with the fact that "a handful of people decide who will do what and where he will do it, and they go as far as determining who will play left halfback in the next game of the Napredak soccer club." By this they hoped to say that a narrow circle of people had the main say in choosing those to be involved in very important duties in the city.

We cannot fail to note that, precisely at the time when all of this was happening, the president of the Opstina Assembly, Radomir Micic, retired. He was also, at the same time, the director of the largest factory in Krusevac, the 14 October Industrial plant.

Recently the newspaper RAD, organ of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, published an interview with Micic on the occasion of the introduction of temporary measures at the Zadrugar collective. Here is a part of that text:

[Question] Comrade president, in the case of Zadrugar, why was the socio-political action that should precede the introduction of temporary measures lacking?

[Answer] You think that was the case. We had 5,000 conversations at Zadrugar, and nothing helped.

[Question] Who conducted those conversations, and when and with whom?

[Answer] Write it down when I tell you that we had 5,000 conversations. And another thing. The Opstina Assembly has the right to decide on its own when and where it will introduce temporary measures. You will not be deciding about that.

[Question] How did it happen that the president of the commission was a man from 14 October, where you are the director?

[Answer] If we had asked the editorial board of RAD, we probably would have selected someone else.

[RAD] That was a remark from a comrade at Zadrugar, and not from RAD.

[Micic] Write down what I said to you...

At question is an event, as the newspaper RAD writes, "in which the commission of the Opstina Assembly did not succeed in showing the need for introducing temporary measures at the Zadrugar collective, but will attempt to press the decision on the replacement of the leadership in that labor organization..."

As we can see, the workers' "No" is much greater than simply disputing Milenkovic's candidacy.

Although there are citizens of Krusevac who are surprised by this "insubordination," most of them accept it all as normal fact of life. That is a good sign, for it shows the political maturity of the place and the honest effort to democratize personnel policies in the League of Communists.

All of this could happen in some other town. Yet it has happened in Krusevac. That city has never been simply a stopping point for anyone, so the citizens of Krusevac will not think in that frequent, unacceptable way that "What do I care, I am only here temporarily." Therefore it was so important to them to have an impact on who will be at the head of the Napredak soccer club, the theater, the health service, and the Trajal, Merim, and 14 October factories, as well as the Opstina Committee and the Opstina Assembly.

Here it is necessary to stress that the community has about 130,000 residents, 40,000 employed, 13,000 members of the League of Communists, one of the most developed economies in the country, and probably the most automobiles per capita. Behind all of that stand the 40,000 workers, who have said, loudly and clearly, "NO".

From that it is completely justifiable to conclude that what happened is exactly what should naturally happen in an environment with a high degree of self-management and workers' consciousness.

12131

CSO: 2800

SURVEY FINDS CITIZENS UNINFORMED, UNINVOLVED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 80 p 3

[Article by Branka Culjic: "The Wrong Idea About Home Politicus"]

[Text] The research entitled "The Level of Information of Citizens in Yugoslavia About Significant Social Questions" was conducted for the needs of the Information Committee of the Assembly of the SPRY. The size of the sample was 2,500. The republics and provinces were represented by sub-samples of corresponding sizes. The sample is representative of five categories of citizens: workers, agricultural workers, unemployed, students, and housewives [all] in the age between 18 and 85.

The research team consisted of associates of the Center for Political Research at the Institute for Social Research in Belgrade, and the Center for Research on Public Opinion and Mass Communications at the Research Institute of the Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Journalism in Ljubljana.

The research project entitled "The Level of Information of Workers and Citizens About Their Self-Managing Rights" was designed by Dr Vojislav Kostunica.

To what extent are we truly familiar with our self-managing rights?

We are inclined to invoke these rights at times, without being certain whether we are always familiar with their meaning and scope, although the right to self-management is a full expression of the essence of our system.

The question concerning the level of information of Yugoslav citizens about their self-managing rights was the subject of the recently completed research entitled "The Level of Information of Yugoslav Citizens About Significant Social Questions." In addition to [the measurement of] the level of information, the research included: (1) the mode of informing working people and citizens about world events and the world-wide movement of nonalignment, (2) mutual information about problems concerning the life and work of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and (3) the level of information of the Yugoslav people, particularly the young, about the origination of neo-ustasi, neo-chetnik, and all other terrorists-fascist emigre groups. The results of the last two research objectives will be released for public consideration shortly.

This type of research, which is seldom conducted at the level of Yugoslavia as a whole (there have been no unified research undertakings in recent years), was carried out by the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion in Belgrade.

Agricultural Workers Best Informed

It is frequently stated that advanced self-management cannot exist without an adequate degree of information about self-managing rights. The lack of full knowledge as to the content of self-managing rights, however, is even more frequent. The constitutional definition states that the right to self-management provides for the involvement of all in decision-making processes concerning personal and common interests in organizations of associated labor, local communities, self-managing communities of interest.... The most significant dimension of this right is by all means the possibility to engage in decision-making.

Two indicators were taken as a point of departure in the investigation of the level of information of working people and citizens: respondents' subjective (personal) assessment of their own level of information and their actual familiarity with self-managing rights, and the mode of their utilization. For these purposes local communities and organizations of associated labor were taken as examples.

To what extent are citizens informed about the work of local community organs and decisions made within their area?

The majority of respondents consider themselves informed only about certain decisions made by local community organs (39 percent), one-quarter responded to be fully informed (24 percent), and totally uninformed (26 percent). Respondents in Bosnia and Hercegovina were the most satisfied with their level of information, while the largest number of those who responded to be fully informed about decisions of local communities were among agricultural workers. Housewives and white-collar workers with elementary education gave the lowest number of responses such as the above. It is no accident that agricultural workers consider themselves informed: other data shows the fact that the rural population is considered better informed than the urban. The difference of some 9 percent is explained by the existence of more common interests in villages, as well as the pronounced feeling of solidarity, collectivism, and local patriotism which is certainly influenced by spatial and social proximity.

Among those who consider themselves uninformed, or only partially informed, the largest number (20 percent) feel that the reason for this lies in the lack of effectiveness in the mode of information, or because citizens have no influence on decisionmaking in local communities. In addition, some respondents are of the opinion that members of various bodies and organs in local communities are not sufficiently conscientious in the performance of their function to inform the citizens and, at the same time, decisions made in local communities do not have to be implemented by communal (opstinski) organs. A particular agreement on this score exists among experts with post-secondary and higher education (as much as 35 percent) who see their lack of information as a result of the insufficient effectiveness of the mode of information.

What Do Delegations Do?

Considering the fact that participation of citizens and working people from local communities in decision-making in broader sociopolitical communities is realized through delegations and delegates, the inquiry was also directed toward the level of information about the activities of delegations and their involvement in wider social developments.

The result is rather "revealing." Namely, the largest number of citizens (32 percent) feel little informed about the activities and resolutions adopted by delegations of their local communities, or totally uninformed (31 percent). Again, respondents in Bosnia and Hercegovina are best informed (30 percent responded to be fully informed), followed by Croatia, with those in Montenegro being least informed (17 percent). Once again the data shows that rural population is better informed than urban, with agricultural workers being the most informed category of citizens: 37 percent responded that they are rather well informed about the activities and resolutions of their local communities, while within urban occupational groups the number of those who consider themselves (well) informed does not exceed 31 percent.

For this reason respondents were asked to assess their involvement in local communities. The largest number (40 percent) responded that they do not attend meetings or participate in committees in their local communities. Citizens in Bosnia and Hercegovina are most regular in these activities, while least zealous are those in Montenegro. Membership in sociopolitical organizations also has a considerable influence on the degree of involvement: the largest number of those who attend meetings more or less regularly are members of the League of Communists.

To what extent does the level of information of citizens influence their involvement? Data shows that involvement is conditioned to a considerable degree by the level of information about events in local communities.

The Young Poorly Informed

It is interesting to see why the majority of respondents (68 percent) does not attend meetings in local communities. The reasons in the majority of cases are a busy schedule and personal responsibilities. This undoubtedly raises the question: are the demands for political participation placed on the individual by the system excessive or not? Are such demands and the notion about homo politicus incongruent with the achieved level of consciousness, material situation, and the very complexity of society and social development?

A similar inquiry was conducted in organizations of associated labor so that it is possible to compare, i.e. discover whether self-managers are better acquainted with their rights in their living or their working environment. The overlapping and interdependence of interests, if theory is to be believed, should be in favor of the working environment. Research also confirms this. The respondents, namely, are better informed about self-managing decision-making in organizations of associated labor rather than in local communities. They are particularly well

informed about business and decisions of basic organizations of associated labor, which is not the case with work or complex organizations. There are considerable differences, however, between the republics and autonomous provinces in the assessment of the level of information about decisions in organizations of associated labor. Thus, in Slovenia the number of informed is twice as high (80 percent) as in Montenegro or Macedonia. The level of information on the part of respondents about business in organizations associated labor is influenced to a certain degree by age differences. The most pronounced differences are those between the youngest and the oldest respondents. Thus, 45 percent of the respondents between 18 and 24 years of age are fully informed about decision-making in their basic organization of associated labor [BOAL], while the level of information of the respondents between 55 and 64 years of age is considerably higher, up to 72 percent. Occupation also has definite influence on the level of information. Only 56 percent of blue-collar workers consider themselves to be fully informed about decisions in BOALs, while in the case of white-collar workers it is 67 percent, and up to 82 percent of employees with post-secondary and higher education. Sociopolitical involvement has a similar influence.

With respect to the level of information about the activities of delegations, organizations of associated labor are ahead of local communities. The largest number of respondents considers to be rather well informed about the activities of their delegations. Employees in Slovenia are ahead in their level of information (56 percent responded to be fully informed about delegation activities), followed by the Kosovo (52 percent), and Croatia (49 percent).

Actual Level of Information

Thus far we have discussed the respondents' subjective assessment of their level of information. Information, i.e. knowledge about various aspects of self-managing processes and institutions is a precondition for any consideration of the active and involved attitude of individuals toward the system of self-management. First of all, however, it is necessary to provide an answer as to what it means to be informed. In the case of self-managing rights the aim is to establish the actual knowledge of basic constitutional and legal provisions concerning self-managing rights, along with the actual level of information about events and relationships in the living and working environments. The research presented here focused on the knowledge of constitutional provisions, without which active and responsible self-management cannot exist.

Out of 11 questions presented to respondents 8 were related to self-management in organizations of associated labor, and 3 to local communities. In the first case the questions concerned decision-making about distribution of net earnings and personal income, and planning in BOALs. The majority of questions therefore concerned the inalienable self-managing rights. What about the responses?

The number of correct answers varied between one-fourth and one-half of the total number of respondents. Only one question received more than 60 percent correct answers. This time again, respondents in Slovenia demonstrated to be best informed, while respondents in Montenegro and Macedonia were least informed.

The comparison between the subjective assessments of the level of information of citizens and their actual knowledge of self-managing rights shows that there is a high degree of correlation between the two. This also means that citizens have been quite realistic in assessing their level of information.

Occupation is a factor of great influence on the respondents' level of information. Skilled and highly skilled blue-collar workers, for example, are not only better informed than workers with lower skills, but also better than white-collar workers with elementary education and, with respect to certain questions, they are also better informed than white-collar workers with secondary education. Respondents with post-secondary and higher education are indeed best informed about their self-managing rights in organizations of associated labor.

Finally, something should be said about the sources of information and its time dimension. Since only timely information can be considered as true information, the inquiry focused on whether information about decisions is gained before or after decisions are made. In the case of decisions made by communes, for example, the majority is informed only after decisions have been made, although a good number of them are not informed about the decisions at all. Work organizations are "governed" by the rule of releasing information after decisions are made, at least this is what 41 percent of respondents say.

As far as the sources of information are concerned the question was related to the most convenient mode of informing citizens about the work of commune assemblies. The respondents consider citizens' meetings to be the most convenient mode, while television, community newspapers, and radio, as sources of information, were unfavorably assessed. In view of the fact that there are numerous local radio stations this was surprising.

The results of this detailed research speak for themselves to the extent to which this is possible when one allows numbers to speak. Yet, taken as a whole, data on the level of information about self-managing rights does not provide a favorable picture. The reasons for this are certainly the differences in needs for information, which are dependent on the opportunities and degree of interest on the part of citizens to participate in self-managing processes. The existence of as yet inadequate opportunities to influence decisions, despite the formal legal obligation to inform working people and the often large amount of information, is a significant indicator.

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